Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Susan Andersen to Jeffrey A. Shesol at 17:47:41.00. Subject: Farewell Address. (1 page)	01/17/2001	P5 .
002. email	Jeffrey A. Shesol to Rebecca Epstein. Subject: Re: for the record. [partial] (1 page)	01/17/2001	P6/b(6)
003. email	Jeffrey A. Shesol to Joshua S. Gottheimer at 12:59:43.00. Subject: Some Additional Suggested Remarks For The Farewell Address. (4 pages)	01/17/2001	P5
004. email	Rebecca Epstein to Jeffrey A. Shesol. Subject: Re: for the record. [partial] (1 page)	01/17/2001	P5, P6/b(6)
005. email	Michael Waldman to Jeffrey A. Shesol at 01:10:38.00. Subject: Re: latest. (3 pages)	01/17/2001	P5
006. email	Craig A. Minassian to Richard L. Siewert et.al. Subject: Updated: JDP Requests for Final Week. [partial] (1 page)	01/17/2001	P6/b(6)
007. email	Hiram Eastland to Jeffrey A. Shesol at 11:58:29.00. Subject: Some Additional Suggested Remarks For The Farewell Address. (3 pages)	01/17/2001	P5
008. email	Michael Waldman to Jeffrey Shesol at 17:43:25.00. Subject: Re: revised first half. (2 pages)	01/17/2001	P5
009. email	ogolden@acf.dhhs.gov to Julie T. Bosland. Subject: re:re: [none] (2 pages)	01/17/2001	P6/b(6)
010. email	Erica Morris to Teresa Dingboom. Subject: Re: Farewell Address Viewing. [partial] (1 page)	01/18/2001	P6/b(6)
011. email	[redacted] to Richard L. Siewert. Subject: [Fwd: Re: WH Briefing from 1/18]. [partial] (1 page)	01/18/2001	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records

Automated Records Management System [Email]

WHO ([Farewell Address])
OA/Box Number: 500000

FOLDER TITLE:

[01/17/2001 - 01/18/2001]

Adam Bergfeld 2008-0941-F

ab833

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
 - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C.
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- Freedom of Information Act [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]
- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA}
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
012. email	Rebecca Epstein to Jeffrey A. Shesol. Subject: http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/national/AP-Clinton- Farewell.html. (1 page)	01/18/2001	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Automated Records Management System [Email]

WHO ([Farewell Address]) OA/Box Number: 500000

FOLDER TITLE:

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Adam Bergfeld 2008-0941-F

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- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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CREATOR: Susan Andersen <andersen@xp.psych.nyu.edu> (Susan Andersen <andersen@xp.psych.nyu.edu> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:17-JAN-2001 17:47:41.00

SUBJECT: Farewell Address

TO: Jeffrey A. Shesol (CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Dear Jeff:

I am delighted to hear from Drexel that you have found his letter to be insightful and potentially useful in the shaping of the President's farewell address. We worked very hard on it to make sure that it was written so as to honor the President's tremendous accomplishments while also encouraging him to give voice to inclination to be expansive and forward-looking at this historic moment. There are so many accomplishments to recount and he will. Yet there is also a need for him to find his voice on this occasion as only he can do -- to give Americans a sense of the big picture and of what may lie ahead. I just heard from Hiram as well that you found his words of value. Indeed, we cannot be a Great Society unless we are a Good Society.

I also want to say, briefly, that I wrote Melanne a week or so ago to say that I believe the grief so many Americans feel about the manner in which this election saga ended cannot be swept under the rug now -- in this Address. That pain, that sense our system may be broken, or may have been hijacked somehow through so many acts, large and small, of negligence, partisan decision-making, or even willful illegality, is the source of great dismay and dis-ease in our nation, as I'm sure you well recognize.

And while the President must be our healer, as he has so often been, and cannot fan the flames, it is also true that he cannot be a healer of a breach he cannot acknowledge. He could not have risen to the occasion for Oklahoma City, one of his golden moments, without the shared knowledge of the tragedy of that event. Something of historic significance has happened that has caused and is causing great pain for our nation -something that is tragic in its own way. And he cannot help us to come through this without reminding us of it, as sensitive and difficult as this is. It is my belief that he alone, with his exceptional political intuition, can find a way to acknowledge and speak to this pain in a way that is healing. The notion that the next President will be the one to try to do this adequately is to me a contradiction in terms.

I feel the need to emphasize how profoundly important I believe this is and so send along these thoughts now, one day before as we say the fat lady sings.

So good to have some time with you at the RFK event along with Drexel.

Hope you're well in spite of nonstop work and no sleep. Godspeed, Susan

CREATOR: Jeffrey A. Shesol (CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

CREATION DATE/TIME:17-JAN-2001 12:59:43.00

SUBJECT: Some Additional Suggested Remarks For The Farewell Address

TO: Joshua S. Gottheimer (CN=Joshua S. Gottheimer/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

----- Forwarded by Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP on 01/17/2001 12:59 PM ------

Hiram Eastland <eastland@microsped.com>
01/17/2001 11:33:37 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Jeffrey A. Shesol/WHO/EOP cc: eastland@msdelta.com

Subject: Some Additional Suggested Remarks For The Farewell Address

Jeffrey, I understand that you received my fax which included the paper I sent to the President in 1997 regarding the "Good Society" and his hand-written response to me indicating he may want to incorporate such remarks at some point. I meant to state in my cover letter that the "Good Society" concept also fits nicely with a statement that he recognized in his first Inaugural Address that there is nothing wrong with America that can't be made better by concentrating on what is right about America. Also, for example, as could be mentioned in conjunction with the Third Way and/or discussed when recognizing approaches resulting in "false choices", the President could state, for eaxample, that while we as a nation set out to become a "Great Society" we have learned that to become a truly "Great Society" we have to first and foremost focus on being a "Good Society". The President of course agrees in the letter that I attached that it is after all a "Good Society" that we are establishing in America as [he would agree] we continue to work together to make this a more and More Perfect Union. All of this is consistent as well with our continued works to make this One America. He might lead in to a discussion about One America, this being the week of Martin Luther King's birthday, with some of the Robert Kennedy quotes in my paper he made upon learning of the death of Martin Luther King, when he challenged that surely we as Americans can begin to learn something from our bonds of common faith and common interests for our families and ourselves as we live out our lives in the short time we are on this planet together. He could state that with his One America initiative we are beginning to answer that challenge and are beginning as a nation to learn from our common faith and humanity. As a brief anecdote he might even mention that just one result of the One America initiative is an Institute For Racial Reconcilition now established at the University of Mississippi a campus once divided with riots over racial integration in the 1960's. (I am very very proud to say that I originally suggested the Institute to the President, John Hope Franklin and Governor Winter as part of the President's initiative, and I believe the President and all of us will be able continue to learn from our common humanity for years to come through the ongoing Institute For

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- attl.htm

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ATT CREATION TIME/DATE: 0 00:00:00.00
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CREATOR: Michael Waldman <mawaldman@starpower.net> (Michael Waldman <mawaldman@starpower.net> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:17-JAN-2001 01:10:38.00

SUBJECT: Re: latest

TO: Jeffrey A. Shesol (CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Draft 01/16/01 8:00am

Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
THE OVAL OFFICE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 18, 2001

My fellow citizens:

I am speaking to you tonight from the Oval Office, for the last time as your President.

It was eight years ago, on a cold and clear afternoon, that I stood before the nation and spoke my first words as President. That January day, in the depth of winter, I called for a "season of American renewal."

Today, I am proud to say that the season has turned, and the spring has $\ensuremath{\mathsf{come}}$.

Like you, I feel both pride and humility that America begins this century $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) +\left(1\right) +$

more united, prosperous, and strong than our nation has been in a generation.

It has been a long time since America has seen change as swift, or sweeping, as

we have in these eight years. New, global forces have changed forever the ways

we live, work, and relate with one another. They have empowered us as individuals while making us more interdependent; and have put the world, quite

literally, at our fingertips.

In 1992, when I first ran for President, it was clear to many Americans

that change was coming. But they were not at all sure that they welcomed it.

They were not at all confident they would have the tools or skills to succeed

in a changing world.

The people of this country faced a fundamental choice, one that I posed in

my First Inaugural Address. [I said to you: when ?powerful forces are shaking

and remaking our world," the question is] [DELETE \square ? I LOVE THE SPEECHWRITERLY

 $\square ? SHAKING \& REMAKING, \square ?$ BUT IT $\square ? S NOT NECESSARY]$ "whether we can make change our

friend and not our enemy."

I posed the challenge; you rose to it. THIS MOMENT IN HISTORY WAS PERFECTLY MATCHED TO THE RELENTLESS DRIVE AND RESTLESS INNOVATIVE SPIRIT OF THE

AMERICAN PEOPLE. YOU CREATED A NEW ECONOMY. MY JOB HAS BEEN TO TRY TO

CREATE THE CONDITONS ETC. [The relentless drive of the American people ? and

their restless, innovative spirit ? have created a new economy. What I have

sought to do is to help create the conditions, and give people the tools,

to build a better future for themselves and their families.]

[WHAT ABOUT SAYING [] A GREAT HISTORIAN] OR [] HENRY ADAMS[] ? THIS SOUNDS LIKE SOMEONE IN A BAR] Someone said the President is like the commander of a ship at sea. He must have a helm to grasp, a course to steer, and a port to seek. Well, my mandate at the start ? and my mission ever since ? was to steer our ship of state in these great tides of change, and to help all Americans navigate the challenges of a new century.

For almost 3,000 days, my helm has been this desk. And on every one of those days I have had the honor to work here, I have sought to move our country forward in a way that advances our enduring values. To expand opportunity for all Americans. To deepen our sense of responsibility. To broaden our vision of community. All the work I have done as President? every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed? I have done with these things in mind.

At the turn of this new century, the values that guided us remained the same. But the way we made them meaningful had to change with the times. We believed that a new economy demanded a new kind of government? smaller but more effective; a catalyst for change; a partner to the private sector. It required a new emphasis on education; and a new dedication to fiscal discipline. We believed that three decades of deficits was more than enough. And so we resolved to balance the budget? standing strong against those who would place the burden on the backs of the poor. [AHEM DIDLE CLASS, ACTUALLY.]

Looking back, the toughest decisions were the ones most worth making. Fiscal responsibility was the foundation of everything else we achieved. Our economy broke records, but that was always less important to me than the lives it lifted? the new jobs it created? the hope it restored. [THIS IS A NONSEQUITOR]

You know, there?s a long-standing tradition that a President?s farewell address should contain a word of warning to future generations. It?s a tradition worth keeping. I am more confident than ever that America?s best days lie ahead; but I am also convinced that our decisions today will shape our tomorrows.

I want to say simply that America?s security and prosperity depend above all else on our willingness to lead in the world. THE GREATEST DANGER WE

FACE IS THAT OF COMPLACENCY \square ? THE RISK THAT WE WILL PULL UP THE DRAWBRIDGES.

TURN OUR BACKS ON THE WORLD. IT IS ALWAYS TEMPTING TO RETREAT FROM OUR OBLIGATIONS. GLOBALIZATION TIES OUR LIVELIHOODS WITH THOSE OF BILLIONS WE CANNOT KNOW AROUND THE WORLD. IT WOULD BE TEMPTING TO RETREAT \Box ? BUT IT WOULD

BE VERY WRONG. WE CANNOT SUCCUMB TO THE EASY ILLUSION THAT AMERICA CAN GO

ALONE. WE ARE LINKED TO THE WORLD \Box ? AND WE HAVE NO CHOICE BUT TO LEAD THE WORLD. Now, that?s always

been the case, but it means something new today. The challenges we face are growing more diverse. Information technology doesn?t resolve all conflicts among nations, it creates new ones. The growth of global trade doesn?t diminish our responsibility to lead, it heightens it.

Along with new challenges, the global economy presents us opportunities? to strengthen work and family at home, to promote peace and stability abroad, and to create, for billions of the world?s people, the conditions that allow them to work and live and raise their families with dignity. We can, as I have often said, put a human face on the global economy.

But America will fulfill this promise only if we embrace ? boldly and resolutely ? our responsibility to lead. IT IS VERY TEMPTING TO BELIEVE THAT

BY RETREATING, Of course, some believe that by retreating, by disengaging from the world, we can shield ourselves from the forces we fear. I disagree. Because if history has taught us anything, it is that America will shape change, or be shaped by it.

In two days? time, a new President will sit in this office. I am confident that he will work to make the right choices for America and the world, and to lead freedom?s march forward into this century. Hillary, Chelsea and I send our prayers and best wishes to him and his family. I will miss this office, this historic house? but, even more, I will miss the work I came here to do. I will always be grateful to you, the American people, for twice giving me the privilege to serve as your President. I will always consider myself blessed to have served in changing, challenging times

Though my days in this office are nearly through, my days of service, I hope, are not. In the years ahead, I will never hold a position higher, or a trust more sacred, than that of the Presidency. But there is no title I will wear more proudly than that of Citizen.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America.

RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)

CREATOR: Hiram Eastland <eastland@microsped.com> (Hiram Eastland <eastland@microsped.com> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:17-JAN-2001 11:58:29.00

SUBJECT: Some Additional Suggested Remarks For The Farewell Address

TO: Jeffrey A. Shesol (CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO])

READ:UNKNOWN

CC: eastland@msdelta.com (eastland@msdelta.com [UNKNOWN])

READ:UNKNOWN

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ARMS Email System

as long as men and women of Good will from all over the country and all over th world pull together and blend passion and reason we can make a positive difference in the lives of the American people and in the lives of people all around the world. I started my own life's journey in a small town called Hope, Arkansas, and I am eternally grateful for the opportunity to work with men and women of Good will for the last eight years from all across America and all around the globe. As I now come to the end of my service to the American people as President of the United States it is my fervent Hope that the leaders that s inspired my generation would be very very proud of our works together. It is my fervent hope that the American people are very very proud of the work we have accomplished together and the sound direction we have set for our great country for the new millenium. And finally, it is my Hope that you will never, ever stop thinking about tomorrow. God Bless All and May God Bless Best Regards, Hiram </DIV></BODY></HTML> Eastland

birth

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RECORD TYPE: PRESIDENTIAL (NOTES MAIL)
CREATOR: Michael Waldman <mawaldman@starpower.net> ( Michael Waldman <mawaldman@starpower.net> [ UNKNOWN ] )
CREATION DATE/TIME:17-JAN-2001 17:43:25.00
SUBJECT: Re: revised first half
TO: Jeffrey A. Shesol ( CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP [ WHO ] )
READ: UNKNOWN
TEXT:
Jeffrey A. Shesol@who.eop.gov wrote:
                                ** EYES ONLY **
> Draft 01/17/01 3:45pm
> Jeff Shesol
                          PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
                         FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
                                 THE OVAL OFFICE
                                 THE WHITE HOUSE
                                 WASHINGTON, DC
                                January 18, 2001
       My fellow citizens:
       I am speaking to you tonight from the Oval Office, for the last time
> as your President.
       It was eight years ago, on a bright and clear winter?s day, that I
> stood before the nation and spoke my first words as President. I said
that
> we, the people, faced a fundamental choice. I said, when ?powerful
forces
> are remaking our world,? the question is ?whether we can make change our
> friend and not our enemy.? Whether we would fear change or embrace it;
> whether we would shrink from our future, or face it and shape it.
> GOOD
       I posed the challenge; America rose to it. In the past eight years,
> working together, we have prepared our nation for the 21st Century. We
> have truly built a new economy. -- NOT JUST A RECORD BREAKING ECONOMY,
> ONE THAT WAS FUNDAMENTALLY TRANSFORMED BY NEW TECHNOLOGIES, THE INTERNET,
> GLOBAL TRADE. And we have made this a time of American
> renewal. We enter the new century more united, prosperous, strong, and
> free than our nation has been in a generation.
       When Americans look back at these times of great change, we will
all,
> I think, feel a sense of wonder. Technologies that didn?t even exist
> years ago have changed how we live, work, and relate with the world.
It?s
> the kind of change you see once in a lifetime. And I think Americans can
> say with pride that we?ve managed it well; and ensured that the greatest
> benefits have gone to the common good. NICE
        My mission from the start has been to steer our ship of state in
these
> great tides of change, and to help all Americans navigate the challenges
of
> a new century? to help give them the tools and the skills to build better
                                "I SAID THEN THAT THE BEST WAY TO STEER
> lives.] [sink the ship!!!]
> TURBULENT TIMES WAS TO FOLLOW ENDURING VALUES. OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL. > RESPONSIBILITY FROM ALL. A COMMUNITY OF ALL. THAT WAS AMERICA'S BASIC
> BARGAIN. IT HAS WORKED THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY -- AND IT WORKED AGAIN.
All
> the work I have done ? every decision I have made, every
> executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed ? I
> have done with these goals in mind.
     WE RECOGNIZED, TOO, THAT At the start of this new century, and the
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- > of our new economy,
- > America needed a new kind of government. IT'S SMALLER. SMARTER. AND ABOVE
- > ALL, ONE THAT LIVES WITHIN ITS MEANS. AFTER TWELVE YEARS OF DEFICITS, WE PUT
- > OUR FISCAL HOUSE IN ORDER -- AND WE DISCOVERED THAT IN THIS NEW ECONOMY,
- > FISCAL DISCIPLINE IS THE BEST STIMULUS THERE IS. [One that?s smaller but
- > smarter; a

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- > partner to the private sector; a catalyst for change. We also needed a new
- > dedication to fiscal discipline.] Looking back, the toughest decisions
- > have been the ones most worth
- > making. $\;$ IN OTHER WORDS, MOVE THIS HERE By balancing the budget, we set in
- > motion
- > a virtuous cycle ? expanding opportunity in every part of our economy, at > every level of income. For the first time in a generation, the rising
- ${\sf >}$ of our economy has truly lifted all boats. WE ARE PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST ${\sf >}$ AGAIN.
- > [DELETE Fiscal responsibility is the foundation of everything else we?ve
- > achieved. Our economy is breaking records, but what matters more is that
- > we?re advancing our enduring values ? of opportunity for all,
- > responsibility from all, and a community of all Americans. The truest test
- > of our success is that we?re lifting lives? restoring hope? and putting > people first again.]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. email	Michael Waldman to Jeffrey A. Shesol at 09:41:51.00. Subject: Re: [none] (3 pages)	01/18/2001	P5
002. email	Nanda Chitre to Jenni R. Engebretsen. Subject: Re: an invite from Fox. [partial] (1 page)	01/18/2001	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F)
003. email	Erica Morris to Teresa R. Dingboom. Subject: Re: Farewell Address Viewing. [partial] (1 page)	01/18/2001	P6/b(6)
004. email	Brin H. Frazier to Terry Edmonds. Subject: Re: [none] [partial] (1 page)	01/18/2001	P6/b(6)
005. email	Leanne A. Shimabukuro to Samir Afridi at 19:12:03.00. Subject: Re: rough cut - radio. [partial] (1 page)	01/19/2001	P5

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records

Automated Records Management System [Email]

WHO ([Farewell Address])

OA/Box Number: 500000

FOLDER TITLE:

[01/18/2001]

Adam Bergfeld 2008-0941-F

ab834

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]
 - C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

CREATOR: Michael Waldman <mawaldman@starpower.net> (Michael Waldman <mawaldman@starpower.net> [UNKNOWN])

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-JAN-2001 09:41:51.00

SUBJECT: Re:

TO: Jeffrey A. Shesol (CN=Jeffrey A. Shesol/OU=WHO/O=EOP [WHO]) READ:UNKNOWN

TEXT:

JEFF -- I KNOW THIS IS LATE - BUT THESE ARE SOME SUGGESTED CUTS, MOSTLY (THERE'S A LOT OF RHETORIC -WRONG FOR THIS SETTING & MOMENT), AND A SUGGESTION

FOR AN EDGIER WAY TO DO THE 'CHALLENGE' - WHICH I THOUGHT WAS PROBABLY TOO SOFT

& UNFOCUSED.... GOOD LUCK

** EYES ONLY **

Draft 01/17/01 7:00pm Jeff Shesol

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE NATION
THE OVAL OFFICE
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC
January 18, 2001

My fellow citizens:

I am speaking to you tonight from the Oval Office, for the last time as your President.

It was eight years ago, on a bright and clear winter?s day, that I stood before the nation and spoke my first words as President. I said that we [, the people,] faced a fundamental choice. When ?powerful forces are remaking our world,? the question is ?whether we can make change our friend and not our enemy.? Whether we would fear change or embrace it; whether we would shrink from our future, or face it and shape it.

I posed the challenge; America rose to it. In the past eight years, working together, we have prepared our nation for the 21st Century. We have made this a time of American renewal. We have built a new, information economy. And we begin this new century more united, prosperous, and strong than our nation has ever been.

When Americans look back at these times of great change, I think we will all feel a sense of wonder. Technologies that didn?t even exist eight years ago have changed how we live, work, and relate with the world. This has been an age of transformation? the kind that occurs perhaps once or twice a century. And I think Americans can say with pride that we?ve emerged even stronger; and made sure the greatest benefits have gone to the greater good.

I have said that to steer [our ship of state] through tides of change, we have to stay true to our enduring values: opportunity for all, responsibility from all, a community of all Americans. That is our nation?s most basic bargain. In all the work I have done as President? every decision I have made, every executive action I have taken, every bill I have proposed and signed ? I have sought to apply these principles.

At the start of this new century, America also needed a new kind of government. One that?s smaller, smarter, and, above all, lives within its means. We?ve done that. After decades of deficits, we have put our fiscal house in order, balanced the budget, and set in motion a virtuous cycle. [THAT \square ?S JARGON \square ? SAY: AND WE FOUND THAT FISCAL DISCIPLINE LED TO ECONOMIC GROWTH, WHICH IN TURN HELPED TURN DEFICITS INTO SURPLUSES. ECONOMISTS CALL IT

A VIRTUOUS CYCLE]

Today, our economy is breaking records? with 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment in 30 years, and the longest economic expansion in American history.

But what matters more is that the rising tide of our economy is truly lifting all boats, expanding opportunity for all Americans. We?ve restored

4.5

hope. And most important, we have put people first again.

THIS IS TOO MUCH OF A NON-SEQUITOR TRANSITION: SAY []? LOOKING BACK AT THE PAST

EIGHT YEARS, I SEE THAT THE HARDEST DECISIONS WERE OFTEN THE MOST WORTH MAKING. I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT A ARD DECISION FOR OUR COUNTRY THAT LIES AHEAD.

I?ve talked a lot tonight about preparing America for the 21st Century. But there?s one thing I haven?t mentioned, and I?ve come to believe it will matter more than any other thing we can do for our country. I?m talking about the way we come to terms with globalization ? and redefine our nation?s role in the world.

Looking back at the last eight years, and then looking ahead, I believe that America?s security and prosperity depend more than ever on our willingness to lead. [This is a remarkable moment in the history of the world. More people live in freedom than ever before.] The global economy [is creating countless opportunities?] making it possible for more of our own people, as well as billions around the world, to work and live and raise their families with dignity. WORDS, WORDS

[But as our nation grows more diverse, and the world more interdependent, we face a new set of challenges.] BUT THIS VERY INTERDEPENDENCE AMONG NATIONS CAN BE FRIGHTENING. GLOBAL TRADE CAUSES DISLOCATION EVEN AS IT CREATES OPPORTUNITY. ETHNIC WARFARE AND TERRORISM, SOMETIMES AMONG PEOPLE OF WHOM WE KNOW LITTLE, SEEM TO ERUPT OUT OF NOWHERE

MANY FEAR THAT GLOBALIZATION PUTS OUR LIVES AND LIVELIHOODS IN THE HANDS OF FORCES THAT ARE BEYOND OUR BORDERS AND BEYOND OUR CONTROL. Technology and

and of themselves, don?t end conflicts among nations. In fact, they can create new ones.

BUT MAKE NO MISTAKE: The global gap between the haves and have-nots is growing.

TWO CENTURIES AGO, THE WORLDO?S RICHEST COUNTRIES WERE THREE TIMES BETTER

PER PERSON THAN THE POOREST. A CENTURY AGO, THE RICHEST WERE TEN TIMES BETTER

OFF. TODAY, THE RICHEST COUNTRIES ARE SIXTY TIMES BETTER OFF PER PERSON THAN

THE POOREST COUNTRIES.

[source: an oecd study cited in the financial times]

[To dismiss debt and disease and education as ?soft? issues is to be blind to hard truths.] Global poverty is a powder keg that could be ignited by our indifference.

Some believe we can disentangle ourselves from the world, that we can shield ourselves from the forces we fear. But if we want the global economy to embody our shared values, then our efforts must reflect our shared responsibility. If we want to fulfill the promise of this new millennium, we must embrace? boldly and resolutely? our obligation to lead. To put a human face on the global economy? To work together with our friends and allies? And to embrace, again, the forces of change? so they benefit all peoples in all nations, spurring growth and lifting lives everywhere across the world.

Again, I put the challenge to you, the American people. And I know you will rise to it. I am more confident than ever that our best days lie ahead.

Now, I join all Americans in wishing our next President well in meeting these challenges? in leading freedom?s march into this new century. I will always be grateful to you for twice giving me the privilege to serve as your President. Though I will miss this historic house, I will miss? even more? the work I have done here, every day, for the American people.

My days in this office are nearly through; but my days of service are not. In the years ahead, I will never hold a position higher, or a covenant more sacred, than that of President of the United States. But there is no title I will wear more proudly than that of Citizen.

Thank you. God bless you. And God bless America.

CREATOR: Leanne A. Shimabukuro (CN=Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OU=OPD/O=EOP [OPD])

CREATION DATE/TIME:18-JAN-2001 19:12:03.00

SUBJECT: Re: rough cut - radio

TO: Samir Afridi (CN=Samir Afridi/OU=WHO/O=EOP@EOP [WHO])

READ: UNKNOWN

TEXT:

Looks great! I saw only a couple of small things: we don't really have zero tolerance for drugs in schools and we should specify that the zero tolerance policy is for guns in schools.

"We took steps to improve the safety for x million children in car seats. We took steps to improve early detection for breast, cervical and prostate cancer and to increase cutting-edge medical research. We took steps to make emergency care more available by placing defibrillators on airplanes. We took steps to provide jobs and opportunity to those moving from welfare to work. We took steps to establish a zero tolerance policy on guns in schools and drugs and help kids eliminate the threat of gang rivalry with things like school uniforms."

I like the officers giving 110% to the job sentiment. All 100,000 or 110,000 officers aren't hired yet. Do you think that it makes it sound like they are?

Samir Afridi 01/18/2001 06:23:15 PM Record Type: Record

To: Leanne A. Shimabukuro/OPD/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject:rough cut - radio

------ Forwarded by Samir Afridi/WHO/EOP on 01/18/2001 06:23 PM ------

Samir Afridi 01/18/2001 05:05:56 PM Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject:rough cut - radio